

## Glory and Friendship to Our Khmer Friends

**B**IRTH of the National United Front; setting up of the Royal National Union Government, organization of people's armed forces, liberation of Tonle Sap and Siang-Treng, establishment of a people's administration in many regions: only a few weeks have been enough for the Khmer people to prove their strength and dauntlessness. And to demonstrate that the United States with her dollars, B-52s, airborne divisions and napalm is by no means all-powerful. The Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique is at bay: its army is deserting by whole battalions, and for sheer survival it has to depend on the American and Saigon forces.

Richard Nixon is hoist with his own petard, his gangsterism. He had hoped to strike a decisive blow to effect a lightning operation. He had thought that the Khmer people would have shown resignation. He had imagined that Samdech Norodom Sihanouk would have accepted, like so many other statesmen deposed by the CIA, a glided exile, leaving his people in the hands of the puppets of Washington. Richard Nixon had wanted to do away with the neutrality of the Khmer people, but all the latter are now standing up to oppose the Americans.

If the US President had had time to cast a glance at a photograph of the Giants' Highway in Angkor Thom or of Suryavarman's mausoleum at Angkor Wat, perhaps he would have given up that Cambodian venture. Because a people who had built the splendours of Angkor could never be subjugated; because a prince head of state, a true heir of the Jayavarman, would never bow his head before any power. The contemporary history of the Khmer nation has been a long uninterrupted struggle to win back independence and freedom, just as the whole life of Norodom Sihanouk has been a long combat to safeguard independence, peace and neutrality for his people.

Seven million inhabitants, a still little developed economy, a Buddhist people who, one might think, would have preferred the blessings of peace to the rigours of war — all this must have carried very little weight in the brains, both electronic and human, in Washington. But when facing their trials, the Khmer people, the Khmer nation, its leader, its peasants, workers, intellectuals, bonzes, have proved themselves to be indomitable fighters. Once again the truth is borne out of one of the great historical laws of our time: when a people, no matter how small, is determined to fight for the defence of its independence and freedom, it can hold in check any...

even American imperialism. Washington should have understood that, for haven't all its attempts at corruption, all its threats and plots over the last twenty years failed before the unshakable resolve of the Khmer people and their head of state?

Bent on safeguarding their independence, the Khmer people have always felt solidarity with the Vietnamese and Lao peoples. In the struggle against French colonialism, the three peoples had fought shoulder to shoulder. Against American machinations, although their territory had been spared until the recent weeks, the Khmer people, headed by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, had always solemnly voiced solidarity with the Vietnamese people. Better still, whereas a lot of people in the world were frightened by American power, the Khmer people, like Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, believed in the victory of the Vietnamese people. They believed it, and said so aloud. And in so far as was compatible with Cambodian neutrality, they gave generous help to the Vietnamese fighters.

The Vietnamese people will never forget this moral, political and material assistance, by which they set such great store. At present they are proud to fight side by side with the two brother Indochinese peoples; they are ready to face all sacrifices for the independence and freedom of the three united nations. When people shed their blood for the same cause, when the prospect of common liberty and prosperity illumines their combat, it is natural that all barriers fall. In vain will the Americans and their valets try to fan up racial hatred inherited from a remote past; by so doing they will only lay bare their own barbarity.

For their part, the three peoples of Indochina will fight on unflinching, closing their ranks until final victory. And their co-operation shall continue well beyond victory. Respecting the path that is peculiar to each people, the social and political regime that each people has chosen for itself, and the present border, the Vietnamese people resolutely and wholeheartedly take the road that leads from the present comradeship in arms to future fraternity in peaceful labour.

Glory and friendship to the Khmer people, their head of state and their leaders! Glory and friendship to our Khmer guests, to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, who, visiting our country these days, are bringing us evidence of indefectible brotherhood.

United, our three peoples shall win.

VNC



SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK

## FAITHFUL TO OUR PLEDGES

PHAM VAN DONG

(Excerpts from the Prime Minister's speech at the commemorative rally for President Ho Chi Minh's 50th birth anniversary)

**T**HE resistance against US aggression, for national salvation has been unfolding exactly as the President anticipated in his Testament:

"The resistance war against US aggression may drag on our compatriots may have to face new sacrifices in property and life. Whatever may happen, we must keep firm our resolve to fight the US aggressors, till total victory.

The words and deeds of the Nixon administration prove that the US imperialists are most oldrude and tricky: they are frantically carrying out their plan of "Vietnamizing" the war, strengthening the puppet army, consolidating the puppet administration and army and dragging out their aggressive war in the South of our country. At present, our people's resistance against

US aggression, for national salvation is facing a new development: the US imperialists' massive invasion of Cambodia, extension of the war to the whole of Indochina, which have posed a great threat to the peace and security of the South-east Asian peoples, and thrown out a brazen and impudent challenge to the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos and of the world.

Accepting this challenge, the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples was convened, marking a new historic development of the militant solidarity between the peoples of the three countries who undertake to wholeheartedly support and help one another, fight shoulder to shoulder until the US common enemy — the US

(Continued page 2)

Page 5:

## FOLLOWING IN UNCLE'S FOOTSTEPS

Poem by TO HUU

★

# WELCOME TO SAMDECH N.SIHANOUK, HEAD OF STATE OF CAMBODIA

# PRESIDENT HO'S 80th BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS

ON the evening of May 18 a commemorating ceremony for the 80th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh was held in Hanoi under the sponsorship of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, the Government Council, the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the Party and Front Committees of Hanoi, and the Capital Administrative Committee.

Present at the occasion were many Party and State leaders, representatives of political parties, mass organizations, public services, the People's Army, national minorities, religious sects and other strata of the population, young pioneers, etc.

After President Tran Duc Thang's opening speech, Premier Pham Van Dong, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the VNWP, delivered an oration eulogizing the late President's life and work, "the leader of genius of the Vietnamese revolution, the enlightener and father whose image will remain for ever associated in the hearts of the Vietnamese with an indefinitely loving and affectionate name—Uncle Ho."

In the concluding part of his address, the Prime Minister appealed to the people to fulfil their five pledges in memory of the late President with more concrete activities and carry out the two revolutions—

people's national and democratic revolution and socialist revolution—he had laid down since the early days of his revolutionary activities (See excerpts in this issue).

**T**HE Committee of Research on the Party's History (of the CC of the VNWP) has just published an important book introducing President Ho Chi Minh's life and work under the title *President Ho Chi Minh—A Short Biography*. The book consists of nine parts:

1—President Ho Chi Minh since his childhood cherished the ambition of driving out the French colonialists and liberating his fellow-countrymen (1890-1911).

2—President Ho Chi Minh found the right revolutionary path for the Vietnamese people (1911-1924).

3—President Ho Chi Minh's efforts to found the Vietnamese working-class party (1924-1930).

4—From abroad President Ho Chi Minh led the revolution at home (1930-1939).

5—President Ho Chi Minh returned to the country and together with the Party Central Committee prepared for a general insurrection to wrest back power (1939-1945).

6—President Ho Chi Minh led the whole people's struggle to maintain revolutionary power and

protracted resistance against the French colonialist invaders (1945-1954).

7—President Ho Chi Minh led the socialist revolution and the nation-wide struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country (1954-1965).

8—"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" (1965-1969).

9—President Ho Chi Minh will live for ever in the hearts of the Vietnamese and the world people.

At the same time, the *Su That* (Truth) Publishing House has brought out a collection of speeches, articles, etc. written by President Ho Chi Minh since 1920 entitled *For Independence, Freedom and Socialism*.

**D**OCUMENTARY films on President Ho Chi Minh were screened in Hanoi and various provinces. Among them were: "Some Glimpses of President Ho Minh's Life and Work," "Uncle Ho Will Live For Ever" (Vietnamese film); "His Name Is Ho Chi Minh" (Soviet film); "79 Springs" (Cuban film) and many footages on the late President's visits to workers, peasants, People's Army, youth, young pioneers, Southerners, etc.

**T**HE Revolutionary Museum in Hanoi has inaugurated a section devoted to President Ho Chi Minh's life and activities, exhibiting photos, documents and relics, most of them so far unknown to the public and some other newly collected, such as his delegate pass at the Communist International Congress in 1935, his writings in Pac Bo cave before the August 1945 Revolution.

The Army Museum also opened a stand dedicated to the President and the Party as leaders of the people's armed forces.

The Tan Trao Historical Museum, Tuyen Quang province, where President Ho Chi Minh had spent his pre-August revolution days, has been supplied with new relics related to his life and activities.

In Kim Lien, the native village of the President the Kim Lien Museum has been inaugurated. It displays exhibits on his family and childhood.

**D**IFFERENT branches of the social sciences enthusiastically engaged in the celebrations of President Ho Chi Minh's 80th birthday. Scientific symposia have been convened to review his life and work, his thoughts and virtues as well as his services to the Vietnamese revolution and to the world's national-liberation movement.

(Continued page 2)

## FAITHFUL TO OUR PLEDGES

(Continued from page 1)

imperialist aggressors and their hirlings—are defeated. In Cambodia, various strata of the population have been rising up everywhere resolutely and vigorously, animated with a single purpose under the patriotic banner of Samleak Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, President of the National United Front of Kampuchea, in order to drive out the US aggressors and overthrow the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, their lackeys. The Cambodian people have warmly hailed the establishment of the leading body of the National United Front of Kampuchea and the Cambodian Royal Government of National Union, the only legal and authentic government of Cambodia.

The US aggression in Cambodia has produced great stir everywhere in the world and protest against the Nixon administration has turned into a drive against US aggression in favour of the thorough and successful fighting Indochinese peoples.

In the United States, the feeling of the progressive people has been running high, as evidenced by protests and actions by people from all walks of life from students to senators, in particular demonstrations

by hundreds of thousands of people in many cities.

For their part, the Vietnamese people will persist in, and step up, their fight in order to foil the "Vietnamization of the war," in essence a plan to protract the war and prolong the occupation of South Viet Nam, which the US wants to turn into a US neo-colony and military base, thereby perpetuating the partition of our country. Our fight has been chalking up fresh resounding successes both in the military and political fields, while stimulating many movements of various strata of the city folk and even of the Saigon people.

The "Vietnamization of the war" plan, prompted by the US losing position and plagued by factors of defeat, is actually suffering setbacks and will certainly fail irretrievably.

Our people's protracted and hard fight is evolving at a most favourable juncture in our country, in Indochina and in the world, whereas our enemy's difficulties and contradictions are accumulating and his passivity and predicament on the battlefield, right in the United States and in the world is worsening.

Stiffening their will to fight and to win, our

entire people are keeping up their effort against US aggression, for national salvation, determined to translate into reality President Ho Chi Minh's supreme prediction: "Whatever difficulties and hardships ahead, our people are sure of total triumph. The US imperialists shall have to quit. Our Fatherland shall be reunified. Our compatriots in the North and in the South shall be reunited under the same roof." At the same time, they are doing their best to strengthen their militant solidarity with the fraternal and neighbouring peoples of Cambodia and Laos in the common endeavour to defeat the US aggressors and their quislings in the whole of Indochina. Our people's victory will have an international and historic significance as Uncle Ho has pointed out: "We, a small nation, will have earned the signal honour of defeating, through a heroic struggle, two big imperialisms—the French and the American—and of making a worthy contribution to the world national-liberation movement."

Their most valiant fight for independence and freedom has no other goal than a life of plenty and happiness, and socialism and communism which is the loftiest ideal. As back as

the twenties, President Ho Chi Minh already directed our attention to the historical and social conditions of our country, especially the gruesome colonial oppression and exploitation and taught our people how to make revolution and readied them to receive socialism, like a land well prepared to be sown with a good seed and bear fruit.

Right in 1958, when the period of economic restoration after the resistance war against the French ended, President Ho Chi Minh made it plain that "socialist revolution aims at liquidating the regime of exploitation of man by man in our country and bringing a life of plenty to our entire people. It is the greatest and most glorious revolution in the history of mankind, but also the hardest, most complex and difficult one." Our country advances directly to socialism by bypassing the stage of capitalist development, so we must, in a shortest historical period, by means of a revolutionary line and a most correct, rational and efficient method, establish socialist relations of production, develop economy, the forces of production, culture, science and technique, educate the working class, the co-operative peasantry, the socialist intelligentsia, train "red and expert" cadres, in brief we must carry out together three

revolutions: in relations of production, in technique, and in culture, with the technical revolution as the keystone. For us, that means we have to explore a new road, break new ground in every field, find out and apply the laws of socialist development in the conditions of our country.

We have to strengthen the Party's leadership and raise the managerial abilities of the state to enforce the people's right of masters and stimulate the masses' revolutionary heroism at the grassroots, co-operatives, enterprises, government offices in order to fulfil the state plan, the Party's second programme. This is what President Ho Chi Minh used to remind us of, this is the secret to achieve socialism.

Like the struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, socialist construction in our country will certainly triumph, which will represent our people's worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world peoples, and prove that in our time the oppressed peoples, armed with a sound revolutionary line, not only can defeat US imperialist aggression, conquer independence and freedom, but also can proceed straight to the finest society of mankind—socialism.

**A**FTER Vinh and Nam Dinh, Hai Phong was the site of the Vietnamese Theatre Festival. The DRVN has intended to mark Lenin's centenary, the Viet Nam Workers' Party fortieth founding anniversary and its own twenty-fifth anniversary with four months of artistic activities.

Over fifty plays have been not only submitted to the jury but performed before a public amazed to find again on the socialist stage their favourite styles. Following is a summary exposé on the Vietnamese theatre.

★

exploited and rebellious peasantry, it was performed plainly in the courtyard of communal houses, where village occasions used to take place. The actors and actresses went round among the crowd who played the role of supernumeraries, emphasizing the stage effects with interventions agreed on beforehand. It was modernized early in this century and recast lately.

Enjoying a new vogue it becomes now the most popular theatrical entertain-

generations.

An official theatrical genre under the monarchic regime, virtually out of favour under colonialism, it has been saved by the Revolution from an unjust oblivion. Owing to its glorious past, its repertory bears names of the greatest Vietnamese playwrights. The theatrical innovations found in it make the originality of our theatre.

Many researchers have buckled down to carefully studying its art in order

music popular in the southern provinces and modern stage machines borrowed from the Western theatre.

For the first time, a curtain and realistic scenery were resorted to and contemporary characters with familiar gestures were seen on the stage. In a few years, that theatre enjoyed the favour of the public anxious to see a reform which would not hurt too much their aesthetic sense.

urban centres, appreciated by the intelligentsia only.

It has been largely popularized after the resistance war, for it suits best a makeshift stage for small theatrical groups who play sketches only. Now it begins to interest the rural public who however do not show much warmth.

**T**HE present festival is a remarkable success of our Party's policy

★

## The Vietnamese Theatre

**T**HE Vietnamese theatre consists of various kinds, namely:

The *hat chro* (popular opera) is the oldest of all. It is a kind of comic-opera in which dialogue alternates with songs and dances. Its musical themes are taken from the Red River delta folksongs. Up to the beginning of the 20th century its very slow evolution was due to the fact that the gentry did not like its jeering and irreverent turns of wit which made fun of all feudal values.

Backed by a ruthlessly ex-

ponents in the DRVN. Its subject are drawn from contemporary events or in the folk tales and legends, or momentous occurrences in the national history.

The *hat tuong* (classical drama), favoured by the aristocracy and scholars, knew its heyday under the reign of Tu Duc. Strongly stylized after the Peking opera, it weaves declamation and singing to the science of conventional gestures and the beauty of dancing. Its art is however hardly comprehensible to young

to modernize it and make it tackle the contemporary life and give up the traditional repertoire of dynastic tragedies. The experiment seems to be successful and a revival of this theatre is expected in the years to come.

The *hat cai tuong* (reformed theatre) is of recent date. It was born in 1918 in Nam Bo (southernmost part of South Viet Nam) in the movement of theatrical reform at the beginning of this century, it is characterized by the folk

The reformed theatre is versatile enough to deal with contemporary topics as well as ancient subjects, not to speak of adaptation from foreign masterpieces. Since the triumph of the Revolution, it has been subject to a careful study which takes into consideration the social progress while preserving all that is national in the reformed theatre and discarding all intemperate innovations by the bourgeoisie.

The *hich* (spoken drama) made its appearance in Viet Nam in 1920 with the translation of Molière's *Le Malade Imaginaire*. It took the Vietnamese playwrights little time to distinguish themselves in this field. But this kind of theatre did not enjoy the vogue of the public at large who was not familiar with only dialogues unaccompanied by music, songs and dances. Until the Revolution it pined away in amateur troupes in big

in the artistic field. With the "Struggle against US aggression and for national salvation" slogan, it draws a great attendance. The war has never hampered its course.

The fondness of our people for the theatre is well known. In Haiphong for instance, immediately after the "all clear" was sounded and the enemy planes away, the spectators demanded that performances be resumed. Today, even surprised by downpours, the audience of outdoor theatres refuse to budge.

Fostered and encouraged by such a love, our theatre has bright prospects. From now on, we have found for a popular theatre a good formula which consists not only in drawing larger and larger audiences but in making them take part themselves in performances.



A scene from the play *Xuý Van the Mad Woman* of the popular theatre (*hat chro*)



Lam Son Insurrection, the first classical theatre (*hat tuong*) play dealing with a subject of the national history

VIET NAM COURIER

VIET NAM COURIER

# HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CONDEMN U.S. AGGRESSION IN INDOCHINA

A declaration on the US aggression in Indochina was made public on May 14 by the Heads of the Governments of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mongolia, the Polish People's Republic, the Rumanian Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, participating in the 14th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

The declaration reads:

"Disregarding the 1954 Geneva Agreements and the elementary norms of international law, troops of the US and of the Saigon regime have entered Cambodia, a neutral and non-aligned military operations on her territory. The US wants to make Cambodia a prop for its neo-colonialist policy in Southeast Asia. It is not accidental that Norodom Sihanouk, the legitimate Head of State, who had for many years pursued a policy of peace and firmly defended the neutrality, independence, freedom and territorial integrity of his country, was deposed on the eve of the invasion against Cambodia. Ruins and ashes in devastated towns and villages and thousands of bodies of innocent persons, women, children and old folk, are the grim traces left by the aggressors.

"At the same time, American air forces have been carrying out massive bombings on certain areas of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in gross violation of the decision taken prior to the cessation of all bombardments against North Viet Nam, which was the condition for the convening of the four-party Paris Conference. This

has complicated the negotiations which already have been brought to a standstill by the refusal of the US to show a constructive attitude and to discuss the problems concerning the evacuation from Viet Nam of the troops of the US and its allies and the formation of a provisional coalition government in South Viet Nam.

"The US has been prosecuting in defiance of international agreements on the neutrality of Laos, its inglorious special war in Laos, devastating by its bombardments the areas controlled by the Patriotic Front. Attempts have been made to involve Thailand into the war in Laos.

"The expansion of US aggression in Indochina aggravates the situation in Southeast Asia and also deteriorates the international situation as a whole, thus affecting the settlement of many mature international problems. It does serious harm to the people's efforts for peaceful co-existence, a better international understanding and co-operation (...)

"The Governments of the socialist countries are convinced that the policy of pillage and aggression carried out by the United States in Indochina has no future and is doomed to failure.

"The recent conference of the representatives of the Indochinese peoples and the document it passed have shown that the patriots in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia are determined to pursue the struggle so long as the US aggression has not stopped. A united anti-imperialist front of the Indochinese peoples is confronting the aggressor. The heroism and self-abne-

gation of the Vietnamese people, the courage and firmness of the Lao patriots, the resistance of the Khmer people to the imperialist interference are inspiring examples for other peoples struggling for freedom and independence. These peoples enjoy the sympathy and support of the socialist States, of all peoples having at heart the interests of freedom and peace. The heads of governments approve the decision adopted by the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples to co-operate with one another on the basis of mutual respect to defend freedom and national independence and struggle against the imperialist aggression.

"There is only one avenue to the re-establishment of peace in Indochina, that is, a halt to the US aggression, evacuation from this zone of the troops of the USA and its allies, definitive cessation of the bombardments against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and respect of the Indochinese peoples' sacred right to decide themselves their destiny in conformity with their will, their aspirations and their interests, without foreign interference. The ten points advanced by the South Viet Nam NFL and the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the five-point program for the re-establishment of peace and unity put forth on March 6, 1970 by the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front, as well as the program of struggle against US aggression and for the defence of neutrality and independence of its country formulated by the National United Front of Kampuchea constitute a constructive and reasonable basis for the settlement of the Indochina question."

## EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES SUPPORT INDOCHINESE PEOPLES

REPRESENTATIVES of 18 communist parties of capitalist countries of Europe met in Paris on May 15 to discuss an increased support to the Indochinese peoples' struggle against US aggression.

They issued an appeal and sent a letter to the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the Lao Patriotic Front and the National United Front of Kampuchea.

Signatories to the appeal and the letter were:

The Communist Party of Germany (KPD), the Socialist Unity Party (West Berlin), the Communist Party of Austria, the Communist Party of Belgium, the Communist Party of Denmark, the Communist Party of Spain, the Communist Party of Finland, the French Communist Party, the British Communist Party, the Communist Party of Greece, the Communist Party of Ireland, the Italian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Luxembourg, the Communist Party of Portugal, the Communist Party of San Martin, the Communist Party of Sweden, the Swiss Party of Labour, and the Communist Party of the Netherlands.

The Cyprus Communist Party, the Communist Party of Norway, and the German Communist Party (DKP), although unrepresented, expressed their unqualified approval of the meeting.

We give below the full text of the appeal:

US imperialism has extended its war of aggression to Cambodia, to the whole of the Indochinese peninsula. It has been multiplying destruction, massacres and the sufferings of the people.

It is jeopardizing world peace.

The representatives of the communist parties of capitalist countries in Europe earnestly appeal to the peoples of their countries for vigilance and action.

The peoples of the capitalist countries in Europe are directly concerned.

The question is to strengthen political, moral and material solidarity with the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia who are fighting heroically for their inde-

pendence, and to demand the speedy, complete and unconditional withdrawal of US armed forces from South Viet Nam and the whole of Indochina.

The question is to lay bare the hypocrisy of Nixon who speaks of peace while making war, to foil his intention to act as the international gendarme and intervene everywhere against the legitimate aspirations for freedom, democracy and socialism.

The question is to voice with greater firmness the demand of public opinion for an unequivocal condemnation by the governments of the capitalist countries in Europe of Washington's policy of adventure and war.

In Cambodia as well as in Viet Nam and Laos the attempt to make good by an extension of the war the setbacks sustained so far is bound to fail.

Victory belongs to the three peoples who unite in a common fight and who enjoy the support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, of the working class, and the forces of peace and liberation. A broad movement of protest against the US aggression has been developing with renewed vigour throughout the world. This solidarity has already proved its effectiveness.

Even in the United States the opposition to the war has become ever wider and steadier. The solidarity of the communists in the capitalist countries in Europe goes to the communist comrades of the United States, to the peace organizations, to the youth and students, and to all the popular forces that have demonstrated against Nixon's policy.

It is possible to stop this war without delay. The proposals made by the representatives of the Indochinese peoples have made it possible.

The communist parties of the capitalist countries in Europe reiterate their support for the reasonable solutions advanced for Viet Nam by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and backed by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, for Laos by the Lao Patriotic Front, and for Cambodia by the National United Front of

Kampuchea.

In the face of the growing aggressiveness of imperialism which threatens the freedom of the peoples and the peace of the whole world, the communist parties of the capitalist countries in Europe will contribute to the strengthening of the unity of action of the international communist movement, with the belief that the common action of all the Communist and Workers' Parties will facilitate the victorious rallying of all anti-imperialist forces.

In the face of the urgency and seriousness of the situation, the representatives of the communist parties of the capitalist countries in Europe call for the strengthening of unity and for a more and more resolute and sustained action against the extension of the war, and for the withdrawal of US forces from Indochina.

They address themselves in particular to the workers and their organizations, to Socialist parties, to Christians, and to all those who have freedom and peace at heart.

They appeal to the youth, workers and students to redouble with all their enthusiasm for just causes, their efforts to support the common fight of their brothers in Indochina.

End all imperialist aggression! Americans, get out of Indochina!

Independence to the Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian peoples!

Peace in the world!

Who of you have not yet once  
In your life met Uncle? Quicken your pace,  
Forward ever! High up there  
He still holds out his hands to welcome you...

There he goes... amidst the fields,  
Visiting every paddy plot, inspecting each  
Stopping at every co-op, every hamlet  
To see if schools are gay, and wells limpid...

There he comes again... mornings and  
Visiting cool galleries, workshops, weaving  
Asking working men and women:  
"How many golden hours do you give to  
emulation?"

Comrade gunner on your platform,  
Whose eyes scan the high skies, scrutinize the  
Do you see that all the year round, braving  
sun and squalls,  
By our side Uncle wakes day and night?

Remember, O very brave mother,  
Whose sons many times went out for feats  
of arms,  
And you, my sister, who daily long for  
Victory Day,  
Remember Uncle's words: In your love,  
persevere!

And you, little friends, do you understand why  
Uncle's heart, immense, brimming  
With love for young shoots, for the tender age?  
The way the ocean loves the ruffling waves...

Why the world, full of affection,  
Will always recall his name — HO CHI MINH —  
As a symbol of faith, a model of courage,  
Of humanism, and self-denial?

Everywhere his ardent words resound.  
His voice makes life joyful, and millions of  
homes cosy.  
There he goes... Everywhere his footsteps are  
heard  
Like the spring breeze that makes flowers  
blossom...

If some day we don't see him,  
Surely he's out on a long journey...  
O little friends, who forget to sing.  
Grow up and be good as though he weren't  
away!

I'll take you to his realm of yesteryear  
By this alley where white mango flowers sway  
in the sun.  
Here's the little lake: its calm water's troubled  
by fish bubbles,  
There fragrant shaddocks and oranges,  
and shady coconut trees.

There, the hedges of red hibiscus, flowers of  
his native village,  
As at the gate of his old home when he returned  
there,  
And there, the vegetables lush in all the four  
seasons,  
As in the days of maize soup and bamboo  
shoots...

His house-on-piles, simple, stands at a corner  
of the garden,  
Its wood is unprimed, unwarnished.  
A rattan bed, a reed mat, a lone blanket and  
light pillow,  
A slender wardrobe, just to hold a few frayed  
clothes.

His typewriter ceases rattling, evoking his  
drabness.  
How serene his walking stick, laid against  
the table!  
And there, the old sandals, with their worn  
straps and soles,  
With which he came and went among us  
in this world...

For whom are they waiting, Buddhas (1)  
standing with their feet in the water?  
For the figure one seems to see around the  
lake at dusk and dawn?

O Uncle  
Rest in peace, in your absorbing dream,  
There still are the skies and the earth, the  
rivers and mountains,  
And thirty million sons and daughters North  
and South,  
Resolved to win, unflagging, marching hand  
in hand.

And we a million brothers and comrades,  
For forty years our Party has forged our hearts  
Mindful of your Last Wishes, treading in your  
steps,  
Toward high spheres, soaring on your  
stretched wings!

To-morrow, North and South reunited,  
Mothers again will rejoice their children,  
wives their husbands  
What a bliss will be that day!  
Your wish fulfilled, you will return and see

## Following In Uncle's Footsteps

(Excerpts)

And yonder lamp, by whom are you waking?  
Let the subtle scent of night jasmine linger!

There they are, from you, little friends,  
The pile of letters newly opened, which he  
was reading  
Deep was his love for your hearts, children,  
Look, how the breeze, sadly, caresses the  
window blinds...

O gudeons, don't be sad,  
Every afternoon Uncle's still calling you (2).  
O coconut trees (3), go on bearing flowers  
and fruit,  
With tender care he daily waters the gardens.

Such was his heart: he had no love but love  
for us.  
For every one's life, for trees and flowers,  
Forgoing himself, for the sake of all,  
Like a river flowing, laden with allusion.

Like a high mountain effacing itself  
Amidst forests of green foliage, loathing  
vain glory,  
He wished the young might grow up and  
mature fast  
To succeed their forebears, and keep pace  
with him.

Calling on Uncle, we saw Lenin,  
His forehead large with love, his gaze intent,  
He came to us, there, with Uncle  
and shadow, and just one soul.

Happier our life will be, with new constructions  
Big and beautiful, making the Eastern skies  
brighter.  
Steadily our youth with nimble steps  
Will move forward, as was your wish, Uncle.

For the days of nearness, let us change the  
years of separation!  
May the same love for the great ideal keep us  
close!  
Brothers in all the continents will get together.  
A hundred roads to one goal, a thousand flow-  
ers in blossom.

O Uncle!  
Tet (4) is coming. On this watch night  
We are all ears for your poem as in days of  
yore  
How gay the youngsters at the burst of fire-  
crackers,  
As if with a thousand hands you're clapping  
in Spring...

TO HUU

January 1970

Translated by TRAN VAN CHUONG

(1) "Buddhas": a kind of pond-side plant  
with long roots growing at the surface of the  
water, and looking like Buddha statuettes.  
(2) Every afternoon, at 5 sharp, President  
Ho would come to the little lake in his gar-  
den and clap hands, at which the gudeons  
he reared would come up to get their food.  
(3) Coconut trees are among the trees plant-  
ed and tended by President Ho himself in  
his garden.  
(4) Tet: traditional Vietnamese Lunar New  
Year's Festival.



# SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK'S SPECIAL MESSAGE TO KHMER PEOPLE'S FORCES AND ROYAL FORCES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

**S**AMDECH Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, on May 12 sent a special message from Peking to the People's Forces and Royal Forces of National Liberation, congratulating and thanking these two patriotic armed forces for their "tremendous sacrifices" and "splendid successes" over the enemy, who had enormous troops strength at his disposal: more than 50,000 Lon Nol soldiers, more than 60,000 Thieu-Ky troops, more than 10,000 Khmers-Serei men and more than 10,000 GI's of Uncle Sam, altogether 130,000 men, furnished with Washington's ultra-modern military equipment, arms and engines of war.

The message said: "In their resistance to the massive invasion of our national territory by the Americans, the armed forces of our FUNK have already very brilliantly carried the day against the well-armed mercenaries of traitors Lon Nol-Sirik Matak in Koh Thom, Saeng, Koh, Chupon, Pra-sut, Krat, Memot, Snuol, Angkason, Takoe, Kep, Kam-chay, Mra, Chhlong, etc., and our people's power has been established in many provinces and districts, particularly in Svay Rieng, Prey Veng, Kamla, Kompong Chhnang, Kompong Speu, Takoe, Kampot, Monduliri, Rattanakiri, Kratie and Stung Treng.

"Our people's army had already surrounded Phnom Penh and was on the point of taking the capital by storm.

"Seeing this, US President Nixon, in order to save the skin of the regime of his lackey Lon Nol-Sirik Matak, formally ordered his supreme command to deploy without delay Yankee troops, South Vietnamese mercenaries and Khmers-Serei mercenaries (so-called free Khmers) against our people."

The message pointed out that "the Americans and their Saigon mercenaries have been reducing to ashes villages, districts and cities" and "this aggression has been presented to the world by the traitors to the Khmer motherland as an American intervention to 'save' Cambodia and 'preserve' its independence, freedom, neutrality and territorial integrity (sic)."

The message then mention-

ed the base requests for aid and assistance made by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique to their Yankee bosses, and went on to stress:

"Today the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak-Sim Var-Cheng Heng-Trinh Hoanh-Khimtit gang has completely unmasked itself before our Buddhist monks and our people as traitors of the most despicable kind and has shown that both its policy and deeds are the very opposite of their propaganda, just as black is the opposite of white.

"That is why today our citizens of all sections, especially our peasants, workers and other working people, those soldiers, provincial guards and policemen who are not traitors, our youth and intellectuals, are giving our People's National Liberation Army massive support.

"Despite the enemy's formidable military means, our liberation army has been inflicting attacks on him, for example: the capture of the cities of Kratie, Sen Monorom, Stung Treng, Chhlong, etc., the encirclement and isolation of the cities of Prey Veng, Takoe, Kampot, etc., the cutting off of the communication, telegraphic and telephone lines between more than 20 urban centres and Phnom Penh. Meanwhile in 13 provinces (including Battambang) a large part of the population has been freed from the control of the Lon Nol administration.

"In view of these very important successes and achievements, I allow me, heroic fighters, to extend to you, in my own name and on behalf of our FUNK, the Royal Government of National Union headed by Samdech Penn Nouth, and the Khmer nation, our heartfelt gratitude, our warmest congratulations and our deepest admiration.

"I extend in particular the same sentiments to my comrades Khieu Samphan, Minister of National Defence, Hou Yuon, Minister of Interior, and Hu Nim, Minister of Information, and their valiant assistants.

"At the same time I have the honour to convey to all our heroic fighters of the national liberation armed forces the most heartfelt congratulations and admira-

tion from Their Excellencies the Ambassadors and Charge d'Affaires of the socialist, non-aligned, progressive and anti-imperialist countries.

"In conclusion, I most respectfully bow in sorrow to the memory of our heroes fallen in battle against the enemies of our people, our nation and our Khmer country, I also respectfully bow to the memory of our patriots murdered by the Lon Nol gang, and of those who fell victims to the US and mercenary forces or their savage air raids."

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk then called on the members of Lon Nol's armed forces to "follow the lofty patriotic example set by the great majority of our nation" and forecast that "in the future only the countries subservient to, or friendly with, the United States will maintain or establish their embassies in Phnom Penh in an attempt to consolidate the shaky structure of the traitorous Lon Nol-Sirik Matak regime."

Exhorting the whole Khmer nation to rise up and defend Cambodia's independence, Samdech N. Sihanouk said: "If I ask all our fellow-countrymen of draft age to accept such sacrifices, it is not for the sake of the interests of Sihanouk, but for the sake of the supreme interests of the Motherland which must be liberated at all costs, and also for the sake of the people's own interests, for the sake of building for themselves and their children a new life conforming to the just and legitimate aspirations of the working people, of all our people.

"As far as I am concerned, if I am fighting by our side, that is simply because it is my duty as a Khmer citizen to do so and also because I have a debt to discharge, my gratitude to all those who have always affectionately trusted me."

From the liberated areas in Cambodia, Khieu Samphan, Minister of National Defence, Hou Yuon, Minister of Interior, and Hu Nim, Minister of Information and Propaganda, of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, sent messages to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk.

Head of State of Cambodia and President of the FUNK, and Samdech Penn Nouth, Prime Minister of the Royal Government of National Union under the leadership of the FUNK, on May 10 and May 6 respectively.

In the message addressed to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the three ministers said:

"We are profoundly touched by the trust shown by Samdech and the Congress of the FUNK in electing us into the FUNK Political Bureau, appointing us

members of the Government of National Union and entrusting us with all affairs of state and with the task of mobilizing our people to fight the Yankee aggressors and their lackeys.

"We pledge to Samdech to exert all our moral, physical and intellectual energies, to put the interests of the Motherland and the people above everything, to work with might and main for national unity and to resolutely and vigorously carry the resistance through to final victory."

## IN TWO MONTHS

**★ Patriotic forces liberated vast areas and whole provinces, put out of action 24,000 enemy troops (2,000 GIs) and seized a big quantity of war materials.**

**★ Whole battalions of puppet troops crossed over to the side of the patriotic forces.**

**T**WO months after the coup d'etat staged by Lon Nol-Sirik Matak, the struggle put up by the Cambodian people has gained great momentum, chiefly since the massive invasion of Cambodia by US troops on May 1 last.

From May 1 to 8, in the Memot region, 138 km east-northeast of Phnom Penh, the Cambodian National Liberation Armed Forces (CNLAF) put out of action 1,400 GIs and Saigon mercenaries (1,350 GIs), destroyed 108 vehicles (170 tanks and armoured cars) and 13 heavy mortars, and downed 25 planes and helicopters.

May 13: CNLAF took Ha Nam sub-sector (P 48 km southeast of Phnom Penh) and Neok Luong and Kompong Tralab urban centres, wiping out 1,000 men (550 prisoners) including subaltern and superior officers. All the Muong Sau garrison passed over to the ranks of the patriots with 200 fire-arms.

May 8: A battalion of Lon Nol troops wiped out at Koki Thom, near Ha Nam: 300 casualties, 30 vehicles destroyed.

May 6 to 8: In Kratie province, 1,500 Lon Nol military men joined the ranks of patriotic forces. Kratie town liberated.

Six other battalions of Lon Nol troops in the provinces of Prey Veng, Monduliri and Kompong Cham also defected to the patriotic forces side. Lon Nol 5th Infantry Brigade completely disbanded.

May 15: New assault against US invaders southeast of Memot: 120 GIs put out of action, 32 tanks and armoured cars wrecked.

May 16: At Sok Chua, Kompong Cham province, an enemy position stormed: 530 enemy casualties, 40 tanks and armoured cars and a dozen cannons destroyed. Farther north, Stung Treng town (240 km north-northeast of Phnom Penh) set free with civilian help. 3 Lon Nol battalions wiped out, many others disbanded, 15,000 fire-arms captured by the patriotic forces, over 1,000 Lon Nol officers and men passed over to the other side.

May 19: Siemprang district town, 80 km north-northeast of Stung Treng, liberated: 300 enemy troops captured.

**F**ROM March 18 to May 10, vast areas inhabited by over one million soul were liberated: the people's power was set up in many provinces, districts and villages, 24,000 enemy troops put out of action in 12,000 GIs. The patriotic forces annihilated, badly mauled or disbanded 28 Lon Nol battalions and seized over 10,000 fire-arms, hundreds of vehicles and over 600 tons of ammunition and military equipment. Dozens of battalions and companies and many army officers and civil servants of the puppet regime crossed over to the side of the patriotic forces.

## HAIL VIET NAM — LAO MILITANT SOLIDARITY!

Excerpts from a Nhan Dan editorial on the Week of International Solidarity with the Lao People (May 17-23, 1970) launched by the World Peace Council.

**E**XACTLY 6 years ago, the US imperialists cynically started their bombing campaign against the Lao territory which has been growing more atrocious with every passing day, while ground troops of their agents were ordered to step up encroaching attacks on the liberated areas of Laos.

Nixon, ignoring Johnson's bitter lesson in Laos, is continuing the war with his "use Asians to fight Asians" policy. He has sent US combat troops and advisors and Thai mercenaries en masse to Laos; he has intensified the bombing of Lao territory, which has ordered the bombing of the DRVN; he has pushed the biggest encroaching operation ever seen on the Plain of Jars; he has escalated the war with fiercer bombings and greater numbers of US and Thai combat troops. Latest reports say that the Washington rulers are contemplating sending US ground troops into Laos.

However, Nixon has met with bitter failures. In the last dry season (November 1969 — March 1970) when the US war efforts in Laos reached a new height, the Lao patriots put out of action over 10,000 enemy, seized or destroyed 2,700 weapons and 179 military vehicles, and brought down or wrecked on the ground 92 aircraft. In April 1970, they wiped out over 2,000 enemy. The US lost 268 aircraft in the first four months of this year.

In a short-term campaign, the Lao patriots beat off the enemy's big operation on the Plain of Jars, dealing a stinging blow at the "Nixon doctrine."

The decision of the World Peace Council to observe a Week of International Solidarity with the Lao People is a new manifestation of the world people's determination to step up their support for the struggle of the Lao and the other Indochinese peoples to foil the new adventure of the US war maniacs.

The Vietnamese people are resolved to support the Lao people's valiant effort led by the Lao Patriotic Front against the US imperialists and their stooges.

We fully back the five-point statement of March 6, 1970 of the LPF Central Committee, demanding that the US completely stop the bombing of Lao territory, pull out of Laos all US and Thai troops, and let the Lao people settle themselves their own affairs.

Acting upon President Ho's Testament and carrying out the historical appeal of the 1961 Geneva Conference of the Hanoi Peoples' Committee, the Vietnamese people are determined to strengthen their solidarity with the Lao and Khmer peoples, and maintain and push up their fight until the US aggressors are driven out of Indochina.

## 67th Plenary Session of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam (May 21, 1970)

**The U.S. Is Prolonging the War in South Viet Nam and Escalating the War in Laos and Cambodia**

**Says DRVN Negotiator**

**A**T the 67th session of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, on behalf of the Delegation of the DRVN Government, Mr. Nguyen Minh Vy exposed the manoeuvres of the Nixon administration to cover up its warlike position and obdurate attitude, its groundless slanders against the DRVN Government aimed at diverting public attention from US intensifying and extending of the war, and its double talk about peace and goodwill intended to deceive and placate public opinion.

He pointed out that apart from 12,000 US military personnel and many battalions of Thai mercenaries in Laos, the US had sent many American units as well as

units of Saigon mercenaries commanded by US "advisors" to cross the border and attack Laos.

Since April 29, 1970, he said, American and South Viet Nam puppet troops have been committed to massive operations against Cambodia. On some occasions they penetrated 80 kilometres deep into Cambodian territory — twice the so-called "limit" in space which Nixon has set for US invasion. What is more, the Nixon administration is trying to pave the way for a prolonged military occupation of Cambodia by American troops in disregard of the June 30, 1970 time-limit set by Nixon for US invasion of Cambodia.

## THE NIXON DOCTRINE MEETS SETBACK

**T**HE convening of the so-called Asian Conference on Cambodia in Jakarta is a new proof of Nixon's political isolation.

Adam Malik took great pains to organize it in order to shore up the Lon Nol-Matak clique. However, just at a time when he was doing his best to enlist the approval of some neutralist countries in Asia, the situation of the Phnom Penh puppet regime was deteriorating to such an extent that Nixon was forced to hurriedly send US troops to their rescue. This decision which threw a crude light on the impudence of the men in the White House, also cut the ground from under US plans. Adam Malik, as UPI has remarked.

As India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Nepal declined his invitation, the only course left to the Indonesian Foreign Minister was to resort to less effective means to try and camouflage the reactionary character of the Conference by denying full-fledged membership to the Lon Nol-Matak clique, relinching from considering its request for military aid and declaring that the countries due to meet in Jakarta would only try to

solve the Cambodian problem by non-military means.

On the suggestions of the Japanese, very shrewd in this regard, the Jakarta Conference declared "respect" of the sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia and launched an appeal for the "withdrawal of foreign troops" from that country, etc.

However all these manoeuvres could not conceal the intentions of the Conference members: over the goal of US imperialism in Cambodia. They spoke of the respect of the independence of Cambodia, but strongly enough, abstained from condemning US aggression. They stated support for Cambodia's neutrality but lacked the courage to take the detriment of the undisputed architect of this neutrality — Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. In fact they chimed in with the US in its scheme to make use of the UNO and international conferences to legalize the Lon Nol-Matak clique and US naked aggression.

It was the criticism of the world's peoples which obliged the US-dependent countries gathered in Jakarta to put on "a peace" mask and tone down their support to Washington.

Discussions also came to light among these countries. Differing from the South Koreans, Australians and New Zealanders who made no bones of their endorsement of the US policy, the Japanese, Canadians and the USSR, the "communist aggressors," and proposed military aid to the pro-US administration in Phnom Penh, the Philippine delegate, at least in words, suggested that the Americans should use puppet troops from Cambodia and came out against all forms of military aid to Lon Nol-Matak and extension of the war to Indo-China. The Singapore representative refused to lend the Cambodian side, to the detriment of the other, the ground that it was but a purely internal affair of the Cambodians, and he was against the extension of the Viet Nam conflict to Cambodia.

Thus, the Jakarta Conference which had been conceived as a new diplomatic step to implement the Nixon doctrine, did not yield the expected result. The root of the failure is not difficult to find: it is the undivided strong feeling of all the Asian peoples towards the neo-colonialist policy of the Washington leader, be he Johnson or Nixon.

## President Ho's 80th Birthday Celebrations

(Continued from page 2)

The Philosophy Institute and the History Sciences Workers' Association have held a seminar on his thoughts and virtues.

The Literature Institute has convened a gathering attended by well-known writers, journalists, publishers and researchers to discuss his viewpoints on literature and arts.

The Linguistics Institute has organized many talks on his language and style.

The History Institute has given a special talk on his family.

The Club of the Viet Nam Socialist Workers' Association has devoted its regular sessions to President Ho Chi Minh, his poems and other literary creations, and the process of his switch from patriotism to socialism.

Nearly all the magazines, reviews and scientific bulletins of various institutes in the Committee have put out special issues on President Ho's thoughts, virtues and his contributions to each scientific branch.

The Historical Studies Review has put out a double-

size special issue devoted to President Ho's birthday. The Literature magazine in its May-June issue carried articles on President Ho's viewpoints on literature and arts, on his literary and artistic works and his influence in this sphere.

The Scientific Bulletin, organ of the Philosophy Institute, has devoted almost all its pages to the study of his national salvation line, his sense of national unity and international solidarity, his virtues and humanism, his exemplariness in self-training.

On this occasion, the Institutes of Literature, Archaeology, History and Law have stepped up the compilation of President Ho's selected works as well as his writings on literature, archaeology, history, the State and legality and on other domains.

## South Viet Nam MILITARY OPERATIONS

— Night of May 19: Many enemy bases and positions bombarded; 51 bases and positions hit by PLAF heavy shelling, Western sources reported.

— May 18: Positions of Battalions 2 and 4 of Regiment 2, Battalion 1 of Regiment 1 and base of Regiment 3 (of the puppet army) under PLAF artillery fire.

— May 17: Battalion 2 of puppet Regiment 5 wiped out, over 3,000 adverse troops killed including a battalion deputy commander, in Hiep Duc region, Quang Nam province.

— May 15 and 16: 30 military vehicles destroyed and 81 Americans knocked out on Road No. 19 in Gia Lai province.

The enemy admits that in the last two days PLAF artillery struck at 49 bases and positions.

If one can never think of Egypt without the pyramids of Gizeh, how to evoke Cambodia without the temples of the Angkor forest?

The Khmer people can rightly be proud of these splendid witnesses of an architecture illustrating their centuries-old history and revealing an art which, through India's influence, evinces a strong personality.

Angkor! Once you have seen it, it is hard to forget it, the magnificent ensemble of Angkor with towers in the tiara shape mirroring in the mosaic waters of the moats, and this prodigious line of temples, porches and towers emerging from the jungle, by getting over or still by struggling against the monstrous guards of secular silk-cotton trees.

To discover these astonishing vestiges through the immense tropical jungle is to decipher some of the most brilliant pages of the history of the Khmers with their most precious asset: their Art.

and pillaged by the Chams. The situation seemed desperate when Jayavarman VII made his appearance. He chased the enemy out, reorganized the kingdom and rebuilt the capital which he wanted to make immune from invasions. It was Angkor Thom, with its five avenues and five entrances, surrounded with moats and ramparts. In the very centre is the Buddhist temple of Bayon. Angkor Thom with its royal palace and its immense terraces is dotted with temples and hospitals.

**WITNESSES** of Cambodian history, Angkor also bears testimony to the religious syncretism which had been the Khmer's for centuries.

Brahminism and Buddhism co-exist in an architecture which testifies to this duality. It seems, wrote Maurice Claeze, "that most of the Khmer kings without seeking to

mount, the cosmic Meru. On one of the terraces a hieratic sculpture, a direct cut found during excavations, seems gazing out over universe. It is a gigantic Civa whose loins are pressed by the arms of Uma and Gangs, his two wives.

**A**T the end of a dusty track there is the miniature, ravishing, gem-like temple of Banteay Srei carved into rose sandstone. More than elsewhere true artists reveal themselves there: floral motifs of a refined elegance, gracious ephebes bearing chignons with the budding lotus in one hand and the spear in the other guard the central sanctuary. The facades there are particularly remarkable such as that of this library where Parvati, the wife of Civa snuggles him in a charming attitude of abandon.

vault this face lit up with the "incomparable smile of Bayon," the ghost of a smile which is a mixture of sadness and gentleness. The stone parapets in the form of nagas are supported by a double row of giants with demonic, or benign features. With the Buddhist temple of Bayon, it is no longer the masterly composition of Angkor Wat, but a tumultuous stone spouting, "a sort of chaos charging the sky." Fifty towers with their quadruple faces fix the four points of the horizon. Unforgettable faces!

Angkor defies all description. It is necessary to roam about in the forest at dawn, rain or shine, at night when the moon gives the faces of Bayon a pathetic expression which grows infinitely. It is necessary to get thrilled in the heart of Ta Prohm, this Buddhist temple of the 12th century where the power of nature confronts that of the stones. It is necessary to imagine the life

# ANGKOR

## a Witness and a Symbol

It was to the glory of Gods or the God-princes that these monuments had been built, witnesses of the dynasties which succeeded one another from the 9th to the 15th century, as well as of the major religions of India: Brahminism and Buddhism introduced into Cambodia from the early period of the Christian era.

**I**N the 9th century, after a long period of turmoil, the unity of the kingdom was re-established by an energetic and tenacious prince, Jayavarman II. From then on and for centuries the capital of the Khmer kings was planted in the region of the Great Lakes. The Angkorian period commenced.

To the end of the 9th century, is assigned the foundation of the first Angkor with its five-tower temple of Phnom Bakhong. To irrigate the region, King Yasovarman had an artificial lake built—the eastern Barai, which is an immense water reservoir 7 km by 18 km.

In the following centuries, centuries of victorious wars against the Kingdom of Champa, Angkor remained the capital. Everywhere, new temples went up: Banteay Srei (Women's Citadel), a real gem, Takeo (the ancestor Keo) which rises up, simple and robust, in the midst of the trees.

The first half of the 12th century saw the reign of one of the greatest Kings of Cambodia—Suryavarman II, builder of Angkor Wat, the peak of Khmer art. Still there are other temples in the forest.

**A**FTER the brilliant Angkor Wat period came serious troubles. Angkor was sack-

impose their personal beliefs on the people have shown a great tolerance."

At the beginning of the 9th century with Jayavarman II and his settlement at Phnom Kulen, there appeared another new worship which was maintained until the decline of Angkor. The real God appeared to be the king, or rather the very essence of the royalty residing in a linga regarded as the incarnation of the deity Civa. The Buddhist kings adopted this worship by turning it into one of Buddha King.

The discovery of the Angkor temples alternatively led from Brahminism to Buddhism, or inversely from Civa and Vishnu to Buddha, alive in stone, by all their marvellous legends and by the faith of the kings and their people. In India as in Cambodia, Brahma, the creator of the world, however has never been a top divinity and this is reflected in art. On the contrary, Vishnu and Civa are present at all times. But for the Khmers, Civa is not the great devastator, the God of tempests and destruction, but on the contrary the tutelary and understanding god, the first of the ascetics.

If while visiting some temples you come into the living history of Cambodia and its beliefs, you must begin with the Kulen where recent discoveries have brought to light a real river of linga.

At Roluos the Civaite temple of Ba Kong (881) is the very type of "mountain temple" from where the idol of the God-King could dominate the plains. This sandstone pyramid with its five terraces corresponding to the cycle of the mountains and the gates of its sanctuary opened to the four cardinal points is one that responds the best to the celestial

But it is Angkor Wat, the temple of Vishnu erected by Suryavarman II, that is the most famous, the best preserved, the most important in its perfect composition, a "work of power and reason" (Maurice Claeze). One cannot forget its incomparable perspective, with its 395-metre monumental roadway paved with huge blocks of stone bordered with Naga balustrades and flanked here and there by elegant libraries where formerly objects of cult were found locked up.

On its state tenace, only a few months ago, the living apparatus of the Royal ballet corps revired on the courtyard, at torch-light, the ancient and marvellous legends.

Angkor should be visited many times not to know it well, but simply to know it a little. One has simply to know it a little. One has to climb and especially to descend, if one can, its abrupt flights of steps like so many flights of steps of the sky, see from high above the changing foliage of the forest with the grey islets of temples, follow for hours the galleries which stretch over a kilometre or more, the frescos of historic scenes, the epic of Krishna or the Ramayana, admire the asparas who more than elsewhere animate the stone with so much grace.

**W**HEREAS Angkor Wat stands out against the forest, the Bayon emerges from it. To discover it, we must cross the gates of Angkor Thom—five similar gates, and 23 metres of sandstone with above the false

of yesteryear around the temples, the life of the King, the great and the humble, which is pictured by the magnificent bas-reliefs of Bayon with much realism. The inscriptions can help us in this respect. "At Ta Prohm alone, 3,140 villages with a 79,365 population were assigned to serve the temple." The gestures themselves can revive. On the Royal Palace of Angkor Thom, the King that drove the plough just as two years ago did Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Chief of the Kingdom, commemorating the "ploughing of the first furrow" traditional ceremony.

One feels reluctant to say goodbye to the forest if no visit has yet been made to the vestiges of the Hospital, in memory of this King who built 102 hospitals and who "suffered from the diseases of his subjects more than from his own."

One cannot help casting a look at Neak Pan (the coiled snakes), the symbol of Lokayvara, the compassionate Bodhisattva who, in the form of the Balaha, flying horse, carries clinging to his flanks the merchant Simbala and his companions of misfortune caught in a shipwreck on the island of Ceylon, the emblem of man's saviour. The image of hope and love! The sight of Angkor: Angkor, a living portion of the History of the Khmers, the vestige of the rise and the fall of successive dynasties, but above all the image of the labour of a people, obscure but titanic labour, back-breaking labour as was that of the builders of cathedrals in Europe and pyramids in Egypt, but triumphant labour for it leaves to the Khmer nation the heroic testimony of its past.